Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 281256 ORIGIN NODS-00

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SECRETSTATE 281256

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: FOUR-POWER TALKS ON SALT

1. IN CALL ON ACTING SECRETARY NOV 23, FRG AMBASSADOR VON STADEN DELIVERED FOLLOWING LETTER TO SECRETARY FROM FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER. ACTING SECRETARY INFORMED VON STADEN THAT PRESIDENT WAS WRITING SCHMIDT, AND BRIEFED HIM ON CURRENT US THINKING (LETTER AND TALKING POINTS FOR USE WITH GENSCHER TRANSMITTED SEPTEL.)

2- BEGIN TEXT OF INFORMAL TRANSLATION:

DEAR CY:

AT THE LAST SALT CONSULTATIONS WITH MR. GELB IN BONN, WE PROPOSED QUADRIPARTITE CONSULTATIONS ON SALT BETWEEN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, THE UNITED KINGDOM, SECRET

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FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES. THIS PROPOSAL TOOK INTO CONSIDERATION THE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS AND THE GREAT INTEREST THAT WE AS EUROPEAN ALLIES OF THE UNITED STATES TAKE IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS.

IN THE MEANTIME WE HAVE -- AS WE LET AMBASSADOR STOESSEL

KNOW -- DISCUSSED THIS QUESTION WITH FRANCE AND THE UNITED KINGDOM BILATERALLY. THE UK SHARES OUR OPINION

THAT QUADRIPARTITE CONSULTATIONS WOULD NOW BE USEFUL AND IS PREPARED TO PARTICIPATE IN THESE CONSULTATIONS DURING THE WEEK WE HAVE PROPOSED. FRANCE, WITH WHOM BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS ON THE WORKING LEVEL ARE TAKING PLACE TODAY, IS EXAMINING OUR PROPOSAL AND WILL LET US KNOW THE RESULT OF THAT EXAMINATION DURING THE COURSE OF THE NEXT FEW DAYS.

THE MAIN POINT OF OUR PROPOSAL IS TO FACILITATE AN INFORMAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS DURING WHICH WE COULD DISCUSS COMMON INTERESTS IN THE LIGHT OF A CONCLUSION OF SALT II AND ITS CONTINUATION IN FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS, AND PARTICULARLY TO ARTICULATE PROBLEMS WHICH ARE, IN THIS CONNECTION, OF SPECIAL INTEREST FOR THE EUROPEAN PARTNERS OF THE UNITED STATES. IN THIS CONNECTION WE THINK NATURALLY IN THE FIRST INSTANCE OF PROBLEMS REGARDING CRUISE MISSILES, NONCIRCUMVENTION AND NONTRANSFER AS THEY RELATE TO THE CONTEMPLATED DECLARATION OF INTENT AND TO THE STRUCTURE OF FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS AFTER SALT II.

WE CERTAINLY KNOW THAT AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON SALT CANNOT LIMIT ITSELF TO THE ARMS CONTROL QUESTIONS IN SECRET

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A LIMITED SENSE BUT THAT THE PROBLEMS WILL HAVE TO BE SEEN AND DEALT WITH IN THE BROADER FRAMEWORK OF GENERAL SECURITY QUESTIONS. THIS FURTHER ASPECT SHOULD ESPECIALLY BE INCLUDED WHEN WE DISCUSS SALT AMONG THE FOUR ON THE EVE OF THE NEXT NATO MINISTERIAL MEETING IN BRUSSELS. BUT THIS IN OUR VIEW DOES NOT MAKE SUPERFLUOUS AN EARLIER TALK, ESPECIALLY SINCE THIS COULD BE OF USE TO PREPARE A SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION AMONG THE FOREIGN MINISTERS IN BRUSSELS. I WOULD BE ESPECIALLY GRATEFUL FOR A POSITIVE RESPONSE TO OUR PROPOSAL TO TALK AMONG THE FOUR ON SALT DURING THE WEEK BEGINNING WITH THE 28TH NOVEMBER. IN OUR VIEW THIS SHOULD BE DONE ON THE LEVEL OF THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS WHICH WOULD BE SUPPORTED BY THE OFFICIALS COMPETENT FOR ARMAMENT CONTROL QUESTIONS.

BY THIS PROCEDURE THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WOULD BE KEPT IN THE WELL-ESTABLISHED FRAMEWORK. WE BELIEVE THAT WE COULD THROUGH AN INFORMAL AND CONFIDENTIAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS CONTRIBUTE TO STRENGTHENING THE COMMON INTERESTS IN THE SALT FRAMEWORK. I PROCEED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE FACT OF SUCH A MEETING OF THE COMPETENT OFFICIALS SHOULD

NOT BE MADE PUBLIC.

SINCERELY YOURS, HANS-DIETRICH GENSCHER END TEXT.

VANCE

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SECRETSTATE 281256

NODIS

FOR BRZEZINSKI ONLY

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 281256, SENT BONN 24 NOV:

QUOTE S E C R E T STATE 281256

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: FOUR-POWER TALKS ON SALT

- 1. IN CALL ON ACTING SECRETARY NOV 23, FRG AMBASSADOR VON STADEN DELIVERED FOLLOWING LETTER TO SECRETARY FROM FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER. ACTING SECRETARY INFORMED VON STADEN THAT PRESIDENT WAS WRITING SCHMIDT, AND BRIEFED HIM ON CURRENT US THINKING (LETTER AND TALKING POINTS FOR USE WITH GENSCHER TRANSMITTED SEPTEL.)
- 2- BEGIN TEXT OF INFORMAL TRANSLATION: SECRET

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DEAR CY:

AT THE LAST SALT CONSULTATIONS WITH MR. GELB IN BONN, WE PROPOSED QUADRIPARTITE CONSULTATIONS ON SALT BETWEEN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, THE UNITED KINGDOM, FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES. THIS PROPOSAL TOOK INTO CONSIDERATION THE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS AND THE GREAT INTEREST THAT WE AS EUROPEAN ALLIES OF THE UNITED STATES TAKE IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS.

IN THE MEANTIME WE HAVE -- AS WE LET AMBASSADOR STOESSEL KNOW -- DISCUSSED THIS QUESTION WITH FRANCE AND THE UNITED KINGDOM BILATERALLY. THE UK SHARES OUR OPINION

THAT QUADRIPARTITE CONSULTATIONS WOULD NOW BE USEFUL AND IS PREPARED TO PARTICIPATE IN THESE CONSULTATIONS DURING THE WEEK WE HAVE PROPOSED. FRANCE, WITH WHOM BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS ON THE WORKING LEVEL ARE TAKING PLACE TODAY, IS EXAMINING OUR PROPOSAL AND WILL LET US KNOW THE RESULT OF THAT EXAMINATION DURING THE COURSE OF THE NEXT FEW DAYS.

THE MAIN POINT OF OUR PROPOSAL IS TO FACILITATE AN INFORMAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS DURING WHICH WE COULD DISCUSS COMMON INTERESTS IN THE LIGHT OF A CONCLUSION OF SALT II AND ITS CONTINUATION IN FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS, AND PARTICULARLY TO ARTICULATE PROBLEMS WHICH ARE, IN THIS CONNECTION, OF SPECIAL INTEREST FOR THE EUROPEAN PARTNERS OF THE UNITED STATES. IN THIS CONNECTION WE THINK NATURALLY IN THE FIRST INSTANCE OF PROBLEMS REGARDING CRUISE MISSILES, NONCIRCUMVENTION AND NONTRANSFER AS THEY RELATE TO THE CONTEMPLATED DECLARATION OF INTENT AND TO THE STRUCTURE OF FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS SECRET

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AFTER SALT II.

WE CERTAINLY KNOW THAT AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON SALT CANNOT LIMIT ITSELF TO THE ARMS CONTROL QUESTIONS IN A LIMITED SENSE BUT THAT THE PROBLEMS WILL HAVE TO BE SEEN AND DEALT WITH IN THE BROADER FRAMEWORK OF GENERAL SECURITY QUESTIONS. THIS FURTHER ASPECT SHOULD ESPECIALLY BE INCLUDED WHEN WE DISCUSS SALT AMONG THE FOUR ON THE EVE OF THE NEXT NATO MINISTERIAL MEETING IN BRUSSELS. BUT THIS IN OUR VIEW DOES NOT MAKE

SUPERFLUOUS AN EARLIER TALK, ESPECIALLY SINCE THIS COULD BE OF USE TO PREPARE A SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION AMONG THE FOREIGN MINISTERS IN BRUSSELS. I WOULD BE ESPECIALLY GRATEFUL FOR A POSITIVE RESPONSE TO OUR PROPOSAL TO TALK AMONG THE FOUR ON SALT DURING THE WEEK BEGINNING WITH THE 28TH NOVEMBER. IN OUR VIEW THIS SHOULD BE DONE ON THE LEVEL OF THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS WHICH WOULD BE SUPPORTED BY THE OFFICIALS COMPETENT FOR ARMAMENT CONTROL OUESTIONS.

BY THIS PROCEDURE THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WOULD BE KEPT IN THE WELL-ESTABLISHED FRAMEWORK. WE BELIEVE THAT WE COULD THROUGH AN INFORMAL AND CONFIDENTIAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS CONTRIBUTE TO STRENGTHENING THE COMMON INTERESTS IN THE SALT FRAMEWORK. I PROCEED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE FACT OF SUCH A MEETING OF THE COMPETENT OFFICIALS SHOULD NOT BE MADE PUBLIC.

SINCERELY YOURS, $\;$ HANS-DIETRICH GENSCHER END TEXT. VANCE UNQUOTE. VANCE

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